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GREAT SPEECH

HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

JEFF. DAVIS RESOLUTIONS. Delivered in the U.S. Senate, May 16, 1860.

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, (Dem.)-Mr. Senator should stand before the country, and his own constituency, upon the record as made for himself. I do not complain of so his opinions and my own. In self defence, the position of that Senator, by way of contrast to my own, with a view to illustrate my own opinions. I shall not indulge today in the discussion of any abstract theory of Government, much less enter into the discussion of the legal issue which has lately been attempted to be forced on the Democratic Party as a political issue. Upon a former occasion, when forced into a discus sion with the Attorney-General of the United States, I did omuse myself, with the discussion of certain legal propositions, not because they had anything to do with the po- by Florida's original position ; and Florida to the Convention next day with a long prolitical issues before the country, but because that law officer seemed to have no official trines at that time. I have here some reso- shall ask the Senate to listen to the whole duties to occupy his time, and I had the leisure to reply to him. The principal points to which I shall direct my remarks to day,

The Clerk read several extracts from Mr. ers.] Davis' speech, a few days since, denouncing the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty.

speech as he found it in the Globe, and wish- that some of the eminent men who partici ed it understood that he desired not to be pated in that Convention have since changed interrupted, and continued: I intend to their opinions, and now believe it is both purpose which we have heard repeated over to do in this connection something I dis- necessary to organize the Territory of Kan- This amendment was rejected on two nishing an ultimatum which, if not acceded treat him (Mr. Davis) fairly and kindly, as I within the power and duty of Congress to and over again for 30 many years. I doubt like, to quote from my own speech, to show sas and Nebraska, the Committee reported grounds; one was that it was irrelevant as to, they would withdraw. That was, that doubt not it has been his intention to treat me. The facts stated in these extracts conclusively show that this doctrine of Squatter constitutional. All I have to say to these that is not embodied in that report of Mr. es of Mr. Douglas, and also extracts from posed to organize these Territories. It was by Congress to attempt to adjudicate the porated into the Platform in language so non-intervention, as the Senstor has indif- is, that I can forgive them for having chang- held this doctrine, and was nominated be ferently used the terms, did not originate ed from the doctrines which they invited us cause he held that the people of the territo- Chase. of the United States, but that it was distinct think they could pardon us for remaining mit or prohibit slavery at their pleasure; sue. The same doctrine was incorporated into cardinal doctrine of Non-intervention. Party to go before the country and dodge ris, of New Hampshire, it was carried by a terms of the bill still more explicit.

Into the Compromise measures of 1850, in I can show, on high Southern authority, that the question of the rights of the South in the vote of 89 to 19 thus rejecting the doctrine of the bill. opposition to the efforts of the Senator from the Convention which assembled in 1856 to Territories. He said the Convention had of the Senator from Mississippi, and sustain and efforts of myself, and re offirmed by the down a platform for the party, adhered to tion of whether the Territorial Legislature to its decision by the Convention in 1848. duce Mississippi away from this doctrine : The Senate and the country can judge who The Senator has referred to a letter of Gen. and Louisiana, then true to the Democratic has changed on this question. Now I think Cass which bears date Dec. 27, 1847, and tells creed, true to the doctrine of non-interven- I have shown conclusively that the Demothe Senate, what most of us knew before, that that letter, in manuscript, prior to its hostile to intervention because it led directly by Congress with slavery in the Territory, publication, was passed around among South ern and Northwestern Democrats to receive the standard-bearer in 1848 first, last and all should not interfere either to establish, to the first time at Freeport in agreement he referred his colleague to the speech was read | He (Mr. Douglas) stood on the ground of being a Squatter Sove-agreement he referred his colleague to the speech was read | He (Mr. Douglas) stood on the ground of being a Squatter Sove-agreement he referred his colleague to the speech was read | He (Mr. Douglas) stood on the ground of being a Squatter Sove-agreement he referred his colleague to the speech was read | He (Mr. Douglas) stood on the ground of being a Squatter Sove-agreement he referred his colleague to the standard-bearer in 1848 first, last and all should not interfere either to establish, to protect, or to maintain,—but unasserted for the first time at Freeport in the first time at Freeport in the fourth ballot Gen. Case received from qualified non-intervention. The Democratical difficulty in harmonizing with his political he at the time dissented from the doctrine of non-intervention as stated in the Nicholson letter, but other Southern Senators now op when submitted to them, they condemned it

still denounces. I am not aware that Mr. Dickinson or Gen. Cass have over disclaimyet my record on this question is held up to sisted by the Senator from Mississippi and the world and to the country as if I stood the world and to the country believed that the fate brasks bill just as he did, and instructed the large to prejudge the question with a view to change in their minds, in order that he might alone in the Democratic party, a heretic the Democratic party, a heretic the nomination, the following facts appeared: He had Territorial bills and the bills themselves, States. I do not doubt the attachment of a platform be adopted in consonance with there is a dispute as to the true meaning of error. He did not appeared a platform be adopted in consonance with there is a dispute as to the true meaning of error. He did not appeared a platform be adopted in consonance with the claimed a party of the Union depended on the result in those delegates to Cincinnati to withdraw unless influence the decision of the Court? It correct his errors too, if indeed he were in the did not believe in never changement of a platform be adopted in consonance with there is a dispute as to the true meaning of error. He did not appeared a platform be adopted in consonance with the claimed a party of the c not entitled to fellowship in the regular Democratic organization. I am aware that
some other people and some States of this
Union held this doctrine of non-intervention,

The bills as reported from the Country, but I believe, had be been to the Union, or his devotion the Senator to the Union, or his devotion to the Senator to the Union, or his devotion the Senator to the Union or his devotion the Senator to the Un

President, I have no respect for that species day. It may not be improper here to re- did not think this doctrine to be such a fatal and he (Douglas) gave him credit for conthe personal character of any Senator. I I received a letter from a State Senator of have no desire to elevate my own position Florida, inclosing resolutions which he had by attempting to pull down others, or to introduced for the repeal of those resolu place any Senator in a false position before tions which I have read, as being unsound, his constituents. I have no assaults to and unconstitutional and dangerous to the make upon any one, and no impeachment of rights of the South, and denouncing me by any man's record. I am willing that each name as the great author of all this mischief which is to strike down Southern rights .-[Mr. Pugh, read the resolutions.] It will be observed that in their resolutions the State much of the speech of the Senator from of Florida had declared that the Territorial Mississippi (Mr. Davis) as arraigns my po-litical position, for it seems to have been had the exclusive right to determine for it-necessary for him to draw a parallel between within the limits of such Territory. As I it may be necessary for me also to refer to have remarked, Florida changed her policy. but if she solemnly proclaimed that doctrine to the world as a sovereign State of this Union, I should think she could forgive us for remaining faithful to her creed, if we can

speech, will be found in certain extracts Conventions. from the speech of the Senator from Missis-Q. C. Lamar's name being among the sign-

Mr. Douglas proceeded. Here, Sir, we find this doctrine of Non-intervention dis-Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, (Dem.) made tinctly defined by the Democratic State an explanation, to the effect that had he Convention of Georgia. Two things are afknown, he might have made some verbal firmed : that Congress has no constitutional correction, and also stating that Mr. Cass power to legislate on the subject of Slavery was no longer a believer in the doctrine, in the Territories. One would think that I shrink with horror from the consequences jected. Then Mr. Chase offered the counter that his principle was carried out in the that he was inconsistent. The amendment which will be found in the proceedings of but had yielded to the decision of the Su- was pretty good Non intervention; cannot Mr. Douglas stated that he had taken the tory. It may be, and unquestionably is, true men, for whose talent with me in its application to the Territories of the North to rally in support of, and I ries might either introduce or exclude, per-Mississippi, and in harmony with the views nominate a candidate for President and lay refused to express an opinion on the ques ed by the Senator from Mississippi, and of a majority of the Democratic Party at the was submitted to the Convention and reject these facts disprove and refute the charge so North. In that Convention, on the first bal. ed, 36 to 216. often made in the last year, that I have lot, Gen. Cass received sixty six votes from changed my opinions with regard to this the slaveholding States; Mr. Buchanan, Mississippi has done me a service ! He has votes being given by Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee, 1; Kentucky, 1. searched the records for me with a view to Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Army condemnation, and the result of his kansas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri. search is to produce the most conclusive and These States did not think Non-intervention, and, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; incontestible evidence that his charge of my or Squatter Sovereignty as it is now called, New York, 35; Delaware, 3; Pennsylvania, having changed my opinions, which was the was a heresy which furnished sufficient 26; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 17; North Caropretext for my removal from the Committee cause for disrupting the Democratic Party, line, 11; Mississippi, 6; Texas, 4; Tenneson Territories, was not true. He tells you much less dissolving the Union. They vo- see, 12; Kentucky, 11; Ohio. 23; Indiana, fronkly what the world knew before, that he ted for Gen. Cass with a knowledge of his 12; Illinois, 9; Michigan, 5; Iowa, 4; Mishas always opposed the doctrine of non-in opinions on this question-he was their first souri, 7; Wisconsin, 4. tervention. And he claims, after it has choice. Old Virginia did not take him as a Mr. Douglas resumed : Here we find Kansse, and the Supreme Court has come to voting for a Southern man, holding the same the Incorporation of the doctrine of interhis rescue, that he now is triumphantly sus views which are now expressed by the mi- vention of Slavery into -required by the Constitution, and ought to the Territorial Legislature, and it was agreed that very speech as a true exposition of the tained in his opposition to this doctrine in nority of the Democratic Party, as shown by the platform. They voted against the doc- be supported; that the Courts should determine that, and meaning of the bill, and reaffirmed it as his could not exist there unless the people of 1848, 1850 and 1851. Sir, whether he is their repeated votes at Charleston. She trine of Mr. Yancey's report and resolutions. ures were founded upon correct principles. the question never came again into the Sen-sentiments. sustained or not, in the views which he then could have voted for Mr. Calhoun, but old These States then had an opportunity of History records the fact that I met that in they did say so. He was elected on that conheld, and which I then combated, is not so Virginia believed that intervention on the affirming this doctrine, if they thought it furiated populace of honest and intelligent, to sustain this view. He then proceeded to of the meaning and pledges of the Kansas struction of the platform. He (Mr. Douglas) material as to find out which is right in the subject of Slavery meant disunion. Hence, ought to be any portion of the Democratic but misled and misguided men, and I defend show that the Southern people understood bill, to decide that very question. He subject of Slavery meant disunion. Hence, point at issue then and now, the Senator she gave her vote first, last and all the time creed. You will find votes against this ed each and every one of these measures the matter at the time just as he did. He mitted whether this was carrying out the ed that it be re-adopted, and let it construe from Mississippi or myself. I propose, in for Gen. Cass, the great expounder and em- doctrine from Mississippi, Louisiana and before that people, and procured from them read the resolution of the Georgia Legisla. true intent and meaning of that act. In the itself. But Mr. Buchanan was sound on that the first place, to invite the attention of the bodiment of non-intervention. The same is Texas, the very States that have now seced- a resolution that the Fugitive Slave Law ture of 1854, after the passage of the Kan- debate on this Toombs' bill his colleague platform in 1956, with a construction identi-Senate to the fact that this doctrine of non- true of Mississippi, represented here ever so ed from the Charleston Convention, for the should be executed, and the Compromise sas bill, indorsing that legislation to support (Mr. Trumbull) put the question to him cal with that which is now denounced as Territories of the United States was brought tells us he has ever fought this doctrine, but corporated—in 1848 voting against it; in cumstances when my best friends warned good a platform as he wanted. He was not in measures stand. In swas good a platform as he wanted. He was nominated on the same ticket, under-weight the corporated—in 1848 voting against it; in cumstances when my best friends warned good a platform in the same way, and afthe Democratic Party in 1847, with a view State, and hence he was then unable to se- tion because it was not in the Platform.

weeks before the date it now bears of its the slave holding States 94 votes. Mr. Bu- ic party was committed to the decide this question for themselves. I told lute power of the people of a Territory over him as evidence that he did not think the friends with respect to a platform, he now public issue. The Senator informs us that chanan 7, etc.; and even South Carolina, is true there were individual exceptions. the people of Chicago then, that every peo- Slavery. Yet after that he received the power existed, but after the evidence adduction that every peo- Slavery. posed to me, or at any rate other leading posed to me, or at any rate other leading ed into line, and declared for the champion ing against his Nicholson letter and the power, and the power of the court arising given in the power of the court arising the power of the court arising the power of the power of the court arising the power of the power of the court arising the power of the as frankly as the Senator from Mississippi choose to call it. She did not then think Democratic Party, and a record at war with and when they assembled they passed reso- ed he was as sound on the question as Mr. pronounce a judgment, it will be binding on did during that period while this letter was this doctrine was sufficient cause either to the Democratic Platform-rebelling against lutions approving those Compromise meas- Richardson. Who had changed since then? him and on every citizen, and must be carlings, but he could pick them up all over the being circulated. The especial friend and dissolve the Union or disrupt the Democratic its principles but acquiescing in its views. ures of 1850. Thus, Sir, I was sustained Was it he ! No. It southern men changeried out in good faith with all the power of Senate and all over the country, from speechright-hand bower of Mr. Cass (Mr. Daniel Party. On the first ballot Gen. Cass re The Senator then, as he does now, granted in my appeal to my own people, in justificated in my appeal to my own people in justificated in my appeal to my own people in justificated in my appeal to my own people in justificated in my appeal to my appeal to my own people in justificated in my appeal to my S. Dickinson) presented two resolutions to ceived only 59 votes from the North, while no quarter to Squatter Sovereignty, but he tion of my position. And the wiews of the if they had done so they ought honestly to Court has already decided. If so, there is raigning him as not being sound on the sisthe Senate embodying the same doctrine. Mr. Pugh read the resolutions referred to. jority of the whole number. These facts chief. Mr. Douglas-It will be observed that show that he was not the choice of a majorithese resolutions, presented in Dec. 1847, ty of the Northern Democracy, but was the assert distinctly the doctrine which the Sendant of a majority of the Southern Democracy. ator from Mississippi then denounced, and cracy. I will now proceed to show that measures of the United States? Does it need an in in 1856, he was with them. If they do not, ed their views, much less the doctrine of supported by myself and affirmed by the I for them. I deem it my duty to show now held by the Senstor from Mississippi the support given him by the Democratic is the law of the land, and we are all bound changed; but he nad a right to ask they would furnish him with those arguments and the Nicholson letter; Democratic Party at Charleston, and as re-that this doctrine was fully discussed and would become the rule of action in the members of Congress. The Alabama Con-that this doctrine was fully discussed and reasons which induced the

should be governed. Sydenham Moore is not adopt unfriendly legislation.

non-intervention was affirmed.

the platform] and then changed, it seems to me that even felt it his duty to record his solemn protest the doctrine of non intervention leaving the quarter should be granted to those who stand against this dangerous heresy, and he came | people to do as they pleased, so they did not was not the only State that held these doc- test, accompanied with a resolution. I

I have great respect. Yancev. It was not denied

Massachusetts, 12; Vermont 6; Rhode Isl

Now I pass to 1850, in order to show noice of a majority of the Southern Demo- vention was incorporated in the compromise Union held this doctrine of non-intervention, or regular Squatter Sovereignty, if you please, for they are correlative terms. I will please, for they are correlative terms. I will took place to allow the other States to make a Legislature passing any law in respect to the people, the place to the charleston Convention adopted the charleston Convention adopted the charleston Convention adopted the people, the place to the people, the place to find adopted the charleston Convention adopted the charleston Convention adopted the people, the place to the people, the place to find adopted the charleston Convention and the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the decision of the Court is, or what it ought the charles is a court is an advertise of the Court is, or what it ought the charles is a court is a court is a court is a court is and it is a cour

call attention to the resolutions adopted by it unanimous. But they were proceeding to African Slavery. Mr. Clay said this was the world knows the result. Mississippi lead of Mr. Yanceyany more than she did the Legislature of Florids, which passed the declare him elected on a two-thirds vote of against his vote and his judgment, and Gen. decided against the Senator. She re Senate of that State, the 28th of Dec., 1847, those present and voting, but not two-thirds Cass made a similar statement. [Mr. Pugh buked this doctrine of intervention, and and the House of Representatives the 29th of the Electoral College, New York not vot. read extracts from Mr. Davis' speech at the placed her foot upon it. In Alabama Mr. of December, and were approved by the ing because she had a double delegation. time against the bill.] Thus it will be seen Governor on the 30th of December. I am Speeches were made in favor of making it the Senstor from Mississippi objected to the of men who so lately attempted to break up aware that Florida subsequently passed re-solutions asserting doctrines inconsistent of Alabama, pledged the people of that State in the Territory against their legislating adwith these, and I state this as evidence that to support the nominee : also Sydenham versely to slavery. He wished the Territhis doctrine, for which I am now arraigned, Moore and others united in the pledge. - torial Legislature to have power to protect was not deemed to be political heresy at that There were some ancient names there who but not to prohibit. That was his position, of discussion which consists in assaults upon mark that, during this session of Congress, heresy as to form a sufficient cause for dissistency. He (Mr. Douglas) wished to give rupting the Democratic Party at the hazard of the Territorial Legislature power to legis disunion. Gov. Winslow pledged the people late, leaving all kinds of property on an Georgia decided in favor of the Compromise of Alabama for Gen. Cass on this doctrine, equal footing; but the Senator from Missisand carrying the Nicholson letter in his hand sippi desired an exception as to slavery, to as the compass by which his political action the effect that they might protect, but should not a name unknown to fame, and he did not Pugh then read Mr. Clay's reply to Mr. Da think this doctrine such a fatal blow to vis.] There it will be found that the issue Southern rights. Also gentlemen from was made between Mr. Clay and the Sena-Kentucky and Tennessee pledged the sup. | tor from Mississippi, the latter claiming that port of their States. The next day the plat. Congress should provide for the slaveholder South Carolina decided against these men

form was adopted in which this doctrine of erty in defiance of the local law. Mr. Clay on this question of intervention. Here you ment to an amendment. Mr. Pratt, of Ma- States. When the Senator from Mississip-[Mr. Pugh read the seventh resolution of said he would never agree to the recommendaation of such a doctrine. He was against North and South in favor of the doctrine of an additional amendment by putting in the plains of Kansas and bore its first fruits Mr. Douglas resumed. In 1848 the De. the repeal of the Mexican laws against Slamocratic Party thought interference was unconstitutional, and would not permit it by prive the people of the Territory of the right thrown, came to the conclusion they would or introduce Slavery." This was objected and every imaginable evil, and President Abolitionists or any others. They did not of deciding for themselves whether they regard an Interventionist as any better than an Abolitionist. They said that Courses Mr. Clay supported and sustained every act forgive her for abandoning it. I, Sir, arraign no man, and much less a sovereign

They said that Coffress
must not interfere at all, nor others. What
others? Why these men who want a Slave

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others? Why these men who want a slave o opinions, and if she afterward believed they Code. Southern Interventionists and Nor. vote which I gave under instructions. This were wrong she ought to have changed them Interventionists were by that platform, debute shows clearly that the Compromise them. But, Sir, having proclaimed them, put on an equality. After that Mr. Yancey measures of 1850 were intended to assert

violate the Constitution. Mr. Pugh read further from the debates. lutions adopted by the Democratic State of that entire report of Mr. Yancey, for it will show that the issue was precisely as I Secretary of War by virtue of the same is record shows that Mr. Shields appealed to which brought that Administration into ex-Convention of Georgia in 1847, and I have embraces every thought, idea, principle, and have stated. Mr. Clay answered the object sue. These are stubborn facts. When the seen it asserted in newspapers that they every pretext assigned at Charleston for tion about there being two constructions to party came together the friends of the Com. Gov. Pratt, so as to make it a fair test. and the sole cause why I am delivering any were copied into several other Southern withdrawing from the Convention. I may this doctrine of non-intervention. He was promise measures made no issue. We were here be permitted to remark that in what- for non-intervention by Congress, and no generous, and did not remind them of their seen that Mr. Chase's amendment was re- with pleasure on the passage of the Nebras-[Mr. Pugh read the resolutions, Mr. L. ever I may say I mean no personal disre- restriction upon the Territorial Legislature, defeat and humiliation, but recognized them jected, because it did not leave the people ka Act as a measure of value to the Southspect to Mr. Yancey. We are old personal then leaving it to the Court to decide wheth as our own equals, and never expected to be free to act on the subject of slavery, either ern States, and that he would have been the friends. We met as members of Congress er the Territorial enactments were constitu- told that we were to be pursued to the death to introduce or prohibit, and these reasons first to defend it; but we find he takes pleasseventeen years ago, and our social relations tional or not. That was the position of and no quarter granted whenever they acci. were assigned by Southern men, and if those are in citing these very abuses in justificahave always been kind and uninterrupted. Mr. Clay, the champion of those measures. I have as much admiration as any one man The Senator from Mississippi asserted his living, for his surpassing ability and high so. right to go, in violation of the local law. proscribe any man so long as he remains in what they charge. It has also been cited before the South agreed to acquiesce. He cial qualities, and the boldness and nerve The Senator modified his amendment, but the Democratic organization and supports against the Trumbull amendment to what should pass on to the next chapter in the with which he avows his principles, although did not change the principle, and it was re- its nominee. Mr. Douglas then asserted was called the Toombs bill, as an evidence history of this principle of non-intervention, was pretty good Non intervention; cannot lo which his would lead the Republic. [Mr. part, that while the Territories might pro- kansas and Nebraska bill. At that time was read] The amendment was to declare the National Convention at Cincinnation legislate at all on the subject in the Territories might pro- that in the bill for the admission of Kansas in 1856 resolutions.] It will be observed in this re- That was rejected by precisely the same tee on Territories who did unquestionably it was the intent and meaning of Congress All will remember that Alabama sent port there is the whole a gument in favor of number of votes as the proposition of the reflect the sentiments of the body, and of to allow the people either to introduce or delegates to Cincinnati, demanding that the intervention, or protection, or for any other Senator from Mississippi. I am compelled the Democratic party. It having become exclude slavery, as they see fit and proper. Platform should be made first, and then fur-

> the speech of Gen. Cass, in opposition to the amendments of Messrs. Davis and Slavery should forever be banished from the longed to the Courts to decide as to the portion of the Platform was read.] The

these votes were cast with reference to the Senator, and on my motion. We did differ were to be sustained and the Union saved.

Yancey led off, sustained by the same body the Charleston Convention, and Alabama like Mississippi told Mr. Yancey to obey the laws and acquiesce in their great principles. In Georgia the battle raged fleroely, and the Senator from that State (Mr. Toombs) will measures, and when the election came, measures by about 21,600 majority. The opponents themselves become submissionists in turn, but they submitted by compulsion of their people. So in South Carolina, the Rhetts, led the forces against these ler, although he opposed the measures here, felt it his duty to sustain the authorities, and to go into the Territory, and hold his prop. who are going to break parties and Unions Chase, it stood in the position of an amend- as embracing the rights of the people in the

Mr. Davis (in his seat)-I scorned it.

favor of these compromise measures. Gen. for slavery in the Territories. The debates occurred in violation of this principle, under Pierce was on that issue, and was elected, show that the intention of the bill was to the Administration of which he was a rul-Mr. Dougles proceeded: These extracts and the Senator from Mississippi became allow the people to do as they chose. The ing spirit as evidence that the principle halls of Congress, and be remanded to the meaning, and not to the Senate and House Convention affirmed the doctrine in the

in 1848.

Mr. Davis' resolutions come up. Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, (Dem.,) expressed his thanks for the courtesy shown in alowing him to postpone his remarks till todisease contracted some years ago, in speakbear testimony he had to form a union of ing in the open air, defending these princi- red to the Territories, with the right to ap-Union men against the opponents of these ples. He should proceed to defend his action in certain cases, and referred first to controversy. Mr. Douglas said that he what is known as the Chase amendment to should then proceed to show that the Presithe Kansas bill. Mr. Chase, of Ohio, of- dent understood this question when he signfered an amendment to the bill under which ed the Kansas bill. [An extract from Prestheir appropriate representatives, may, if President Pierce then speaks of this bill as measures, and the gallant and patriotic But- therein." This was precisely the same in ereignty in the States, and also in the "in-Compromise measures of 1850 by Mr. Chase. red to the Territories as "incipient States," When this amendment was offered by Mr. and used the words "popular sovereignty" have the verdict of the American people ryland, appealed to Gov. Chase to receive pi said this doctrine had its first trial on the non-intervention, and the Southern inter- word "introduce," so that it would read, there, and described its legitimate fruits as submit. We said to them, "Although you to as out of order by Mr. Seward, and was Pierce says these acts were abuses of the have erred on this question, we will fergive not received. [Part of the remarks of Mr. principle of Popular S vereignty, and abuses upon, and it was rejected, because the words (Mr. Douglas) had to say in answer to the Mr. Douglas-Yes, sir, as I scorned his and yet, in the face of these facts, this vote thority of the Chief under whom he held quarter the other day, and I like the spirit has been cited against him (Mr. Douglas) the high office of Secretary of War, they in which he scorns it. But, sir, the Con- and he has been charged with being unwil- were abuses. He was amazed that the vention at Baltimore ratified and decided in ling to allow the bill to act either against or Senator should cite abuses and frauds which

Mr. Douglas resumed. Having thus re- people of the Territories. No man could of Representatives. No man intimated that plainest language. The Platform also dejected the two propositions, the record shows be excused for not knowing the true mean- the amendment did not contain the true clares that the same principle was affirmed ly proclaimed by Gen. Cass in his Nicholson | faithful to that doctrine which we and they and for that reason Mr. Yancey and his co'. that I moved to strike out all in the bill con- ing of that bill. It was that Congress re- meaning of the Kansas bill, but they said they by both parties in 1852, showing that the letter. He became the nominee of the De- agreed to stand upon. In pursuing this sub- leagues protested. The argument of the Convenmocratic Party, with a full knowledge of ject I fear I may become tedious, but I feel equality of States is used, and also that ter- ritory might do as they pleased. That was fere with slavery in the Territories, either bill. [Extracts of the debates were read, tion which nominated Pierce in 1852 had his opinions with regard to non-intervention it my duty to present the evidence that the ritories are the common property of all, and voted down. But when made subsequently, to prohibit or protect. The report of the and the vote by which it was rejected—11 affirmed the same doctrine of non-intervenand was supported by that party on that is Democratic Porty in 1848 stood plain on that it is not creditable to the Democratic at the suggestion of Mr. Clay, by Mr. Nor. Committee was perfectly clear, and the to 34.] Thus it appears that those who vo-Mr. Douglas-They repealed the Missouri but they assigned as a reason that it was ir- principle on which alone the peace and pering the proposition advocated by myself. Compromise because it was inconsistent relevant and an usurpation of power. Mr. petuity of the Union could be preserved .-We differed then as we do now, I sustained with the non-intervention doctrine, and for Bayard said it was nothing more or less than These were declared at Cincinnati unanim-Convention in 1852; and Gen. Pierce was this doctrine. The attention of the country could prohibit slavery or not, and it was not it then as I do now; and he fought it gallant. the purpose of applying that principle, and elected President of the United States upon this same doctrine, and it was again affirmed the basis of these measures. Conby the Congress of the United States in the Ransas and Nebraska bill of 1854, and had Hence the nomination of Gen. Cass, with its first trial and yielded its fruits upon the his opinion as expressed in the Nicholson candidate held the opinion that the Territo- terrific excitement, North and South. The object gia, or from any other Southern State. But plains of Kansss in 1855 and 1856. These letter, was not the result of accident, but he ries could exclude slavery. He then confacts are substantially and positively affirm- was chosen because he spoke the sentiments cluded with a resolution. This proposition which was adopted by the unanimous vote in measures were for the extension of slavery, this in the bill; it was a rather bitter pill in 1856, denounced as beyond the constituand Southern men inflamed the passions of for them, but he insisted on their swallowing tional authority of the Senate, and an act of after as to justify the very States adopting it Mr. Pugh read the vote by States: Yeas the people there, making them think they it as necessary to the passage of the meas- usurpation; and gentlemen stood here silent, then in breaking up the party, because we -Maryland, 1; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, were a sacifice of Southern honor. I went ure; for the bill declared that the people of and heard Mr. Bayard denounce that attempt, insist upon adhering to it now. Not only question since 1856. The Benater from nineteen ; Mr. Woodbury, eighteen, etc., the 9; Florida, 3; Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 3; to my own State to make my vindication to the Territories should be left free to do as who are now called upon to decide that very did the party unanimously affirm this docmy people. The country knows that histo- they pleased under the Constitution-the question which, by the Kansas bill, was re- trine in 1856, but the candidates accepted Nays-Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 6; ry as recorded, and the mode in which I was Courts to determine the meaning of the ferred to the Courts, and banished from on that platform, with a construction which received. The City Council of Chicago, Constitution. Non-intervention by Con. Congress forever, and which they pledged they themselves put upon it, and which is which was filled with Abolitionists, had gress was the doctrine of the bill; that Con- themselves never to decide. He would hold the same as he (Mr. Douglas) had ever plapassed resolutions annulling the Fugitive gress should never interfere for any purpose them to their pledges to leave this question ced upon it. (Mr. Buchanan's letter accept-Slave Law. The standard of rebelion was whatever, either to introduce, prohibit or alone. The Senator from Virginia (Mr. Hun- ance was read.) Mr. Buchanan not only raised, public passion was inflamed, and protect Slavery, and expressly stipulated ter) declared that theintent and understand accepted on the platform, but he was kind civil war was anticipated by every man. It that the old French law protecting Slavery ing of the Kansas bill was that one point enough to tell the people what it meant was not a pleasant task for me to go into a should not be revived. Mr. Badger's amend- was referred to the Courts, and that was the "that the people of a Territory like those of public meeting thus inflamed, and tell those ment was put in for this express purpose .- limitation of the Constitution on the author- a State should decide for themselves whethpeople that they had been deceived about The only point of difference at that time ity of a Territorial Legislature. And the er slavery should not exist within their limyielded its blighting effects on the plains of choice of evils. She had an opportunity of these Slaveholding States voting against the character of these measures; to tell was as to the extent of the limitation impos- Sensor not only made that statement then, its." This was Squatter Sovereignty in its

them that the Fugitive Slave Law was right ed by the Constitution on the authority of but again in February of last year he quoted broadest form. Mr. Pugh read from Mr. Douglas' Chicago crossing a t. The country then understood, had been heard over again, and he ter the nomination he returned to his home the measure as he understood it. The did not choose to answer the question, and at Lexington, Kentucky. And when his Mr. Douglas-I submit that that speech, House of Representatives understood it in referred him to the Judiciary to ascertain neighbors assembled to congratulate him on made under those circumstances, ha'f a mil- the same way. Mr. Richardson, who re- whether the power existed. He believed the his good fortune, Mr. Breckinridge made a tion, true to the maintenance of the Union, cratic creed in 1848 was non-intervention lion copies of which were circulated, and ported the bill in the House, was made the power did exist; others believed differently, speech in reply, showing how he understood which received a wider circulation than any Democratic candidate tor Speaker at the and they agreed to refer it to the Judiciary the Kansas bill and the Cincinnati platform. to disunion, she rallied around Gen. Cass as either for it or against it; that Congress speech made in my whole life-I submit next session against Banks. He was oppost and abide by their decision; and true to his Part of Mr. Breckinridge's Lexington when she found her favorite had no chance The Senator from Mississippi was one of ple ought to possess the right to manage vote of Southern Democracy, with one or ed yesterday and the debates just read, no ceptance and Mr. Breckinridge's Lexington -so soon as she found Gen. Cass was the them. He supported Gen. Cass under pro their own domestic concerns, in their own two exceptions. A distinguished gentleman man has an excuse for not knowing his speech of acceptance, let each one construe. choice of a majority of the party—she wheel test, making speeches for him and protest way. The people of the State possessed from South Carolina, who, up to the time of opinion. It was not his opinion that was to it for himself. He would not dot an "I" or eignty, or Non-intervention, or whatever you a clean record, but a record outside of the nois was elected a few weeks afterwards, the 108th ballot. [Laughter.] He believ- shall arise, and the Supreme Court shall modating. He would not insist on a plathe received 66 from the South, being a ma- made speeches for the Squatter Sovereign Senator from Mississippi-how was it with avow it. If he could forgive them for change an end of the controversy. Let the decision very question. [Applause in the galleries.] his appeal to his people? The country has ing, could they not magnanimously forgive not forgotten, and will not forget, with what him for adhering consistently to his former is no use in quarrelling. But will the resoanxicty all Americans looked to Mississippi, doctrines. In 1856 Alabama also insisted lutions of the Senate give any additional Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina to upon the declaration at Cincinnati of the force to the authority of the Supreme Court thized with Mr. Richardson, the leader of dorsement of the Charleston Convention to then the question arises : Who has changdistinct question of non-intervention, as now then as we do now-he against them and or whether the idea then proclaimed and the Kansas bill in the House, and indersed give it validity? If the decision is made it ed ? He did not complain if they had supported by myself and affirmed by the I for them. I deem it my duty to show now held by the Senator from Mississippi the support given him by the Democratic is the law of the land, and we are all bound changed; but he had a right to ask that

of the Government. You have no right to instruct the Court how they shall decide this question, and have no right to define their position for them.

When the decision is made they will issue the proper process for carrying it into effect. All they ask, therefore, of you, is non-intervention-hands off in, the language of the Georgia Convention. Let the sub day, in consequence of a sudden attack of a ject be banished forever from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and refepeal to the Court, and there is an end of the "The people of the Territories, through ident Pierce's Message of 1855 was read.] they see fit, prohibit the existence of Slavery adopting the great principle of Popular Sovlegal effect as the amendment offered to the cipient States." He unquestionably referoffered by Gov. Pratt were not accepted; allegation of the Senator is, that by the au-Mr. Chase to receive the amendment of istence was a vicious and dangerous one. He thought the Senator had given in his Mr. Douglas resumed-Thus it will be adhesion to the doctrine, and that he looked

ted for the Trumbull amendment declared it correctly applied in the Kansas and Nebraswas the true intent and meaning of the bill, ka bill, and that it was a great Conservative

Mr. Buchanan told the people that slavery the Territory said so, and it should exist if form taken from his own speeches or writ-He spoke of these things with entire respect, and not for the purpose of condemnation, or placing any man in a false position. If these gentlemen stand now where they did

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